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United Nations

# Report of the Open-ended Working Group on the Question of Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Security Council and Other Matters related to the Security Council

**General Assembly**
**Official Records**
**Fifty-eighth Session**
**Supplement No. 47 (A/58/47)**

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# Report of the Open-ended Working Group on the Question of Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Security Council and Other Matters related to the Security Council

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*Note*

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

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# I. Introduction

1. In its resolution 48/26, the General Assembly decided to establish an open-ended working group to consider all aspects of the question of increase in the membership of the Security Council and other matters related to the Security Council.

2. The Open-ended Working Group on the Question of Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Security Council began its deliberations in January 1994. The Working Group submitted progress reports to the General Assembly at its forty-eighth through fifty-seventh sessions. Also at its forty-eighth through fifty-seventh sessions, the General Assembly extended the mandate of the Working Group.

3. On 23 November 1998, the General Assembly adopted resolution 53/30 with regard to one of the agenda items of the Working Group, namely, "Majority required for taking decisions on Security Council reform".

4. In the United Nations Millennium Declaration, heads of State and Government resolved, in respect of ongoing deliberations on Security Council reform, to intensify their efforts to achieve a comprehensive reform of the Security Council in all its aspects (see General Assembly resolution 55/2, annex, para. 30).

5. Following the deliberations of the Working Group at its fifty-seventh session, the General Assembly, in its decision 57/591, decided that the Group should continue its work and submit a report to the Assembly before the end of the fifty-eighth session, including any agreed recommendations. The present report has been prepared and submitted pursuant to that decision.

# II. Fifty-eighth session of the General Assembly

6. The issue of the reform of the Security Council continues to be among those addressed in the General Assembly's annual general debate. Many heads of State and Government and other high-level representatives of Member States expressed the views of their Governments on the issue during the general debate of the fifty-eighth session of the General Assembly, convened from 26 September to 2 October 2003.

7. Member States also expressed their views on the reform of the Security Council when the General Assembly considered the item entitled "The question of equitable representation on and increase in membership of the Security Council and other matters related to the Security Council" (item 56) on 14, 16 and 17 October 2003 (see A/58/PV.30, 31, 35 and 36).

8. On 30 January 2004, the President of the General Assembly, Julian R. Hunte (Saint Lucia), convened informal consultations of the General Assembly under item 56. Delegations participating in the informal consultations discussed an informal note prepared by the President and circulated on 23 January 2004 (see annex I).

# III. Proceedings of the Working Group during the fifty-eighth session of the General Assembly

## A. Organizational matters

9. The President of the General Assembly served as Chairperson of the Working Group. At its first meeting, on 19 February 2004, the Working Group endorsed the appointment of two Vice-Chairpersons, Luis Gallegos Chiriboga (Ecuador) and Christian Wenaweser (Liechtenstein).

10. During the fifty-eighth session of the General Assembly, the Working Group held three formal meetings, on 19 February, 14 May and 21 July 2004, as well as nine rounds of informal consultations, on 19 February, 11, 23 and 26 March and 5-8 and 19 April 2004.

## B. Working methods of the Working Group

11. In previous sessions, the Working Group considered oral and written proposals and/or position papers presented by delegations. Those proposals were set out in two clusters, cluster I, concerning increase in membership and related matters, and cluster II, concerning the working methods of the Security Council and transparency of its work. The Working Group considered the two clusters of proposals in tandem. The discussion of the two clusters was summarized in conference room papers, the most recent versions of which are contained in annexes VI (cluster I) and VII (cluster II) of the report of the Working Group to the fifty-seventh session of the General Assembly (A/57/47).

12. Over its 10 years of deliberations, the Working Group has reached provisional agreement on a large number of issues under cluster II; however, substantial divergence of views remains on other issues, including issues in cluster I.

13. The Chairman's view was that the Working Group should, at its fifty-eighth session, take an approach to its work that would create new opportunities for progress in consideration of Security Council reform. In informal consultations at the beginning of the Working Group's deliberations, members of the Working Group agreed to proceed with substantive discussions in informal consultations

14. Members of the Working Group also agreed to use as a basis for their exchange of views specific topics proposed by the Bureau. Those topics were the size of an enlarged Security Council; the question of regional representation; criteria for membership; the relationship between the General Assembly and the Security Council; accountability; and the use of the veto. The topics, considered as a starting point, were put forward by the Bureau and agreed upon as a means of stimulating discussion in the Working Group.

## C. Meetings and informal consultations of the Working Group

15. The first meeting of the Working Group was held on 19 February 2004, during which the appointment of the Vice-Chairpersons was endorsed.

16. Also on 19 February 2004, the Working Group held informal consultations, during which it heard a briefing by the two Vice-Chairpersons on their informal discussions with delegations on the President's informal note of 23 January 2004.

17. The agreement of the Working Group to have an exchange of views on the initial five of the topics proposed by the Bureau was made in informal consultations on 11 March 2004. To facilitate discussion on the topics, a reference paper prepared by the Bureau was circulated on 22 March 2004 to all delegations on those five topics (see annex II).

18. At informal consultations convened on 23 March 2004, the Working Group had a preliminary discussion of the initial five topics. It decided that it would consider each topic separately.

19. The Working Group discussed topic 1, "Size of an enlarged Security Council", in informal consultations on 26 March 2004.

20. Topic 2, "Question of regional representation", was discussed by the Working Group in informal consultations on 5 April 2004.

21. Topic 3, "Criteria for membership", was discussed by the Working Group in informal consultations on 6 April 2004.

22. Topic 4, "Relationship between the General Assembly and the Security Council", was discussed by the Working Group in informal consultations on 7 April 2004.

23. Topic 5, "Accountability", was discussed by the Working Group in informal consultations on 8 April 2004.

24. On 19 April 2004, the Working Group held informal consultations on topic 6, "The use of the veto", on the proposal of the Chairman. The Chairman circulated an informal note on the record of the use of the veto in the Security Council, as made available by the Secretariat and circulated to all delegations on 16 April 2004 and later updated on 18 May 2004 (see annex III).

25. In addition to the six topics, delegations raised a number of issues related to reform of the Security Council, including meetings of the Security Council with troop-contributing countries and the Secretariat; the annual report of the Security Council to the General Assembly; further transparency of the Security Council vis-à-vis the wider membership of the United Nations; and the role of the Security Council in setting international legal norms.

26. Regarding the Working Group's informal consultations on the six topics, the Chairman informed members of the Working Group that he would prepare a Chairman's summary on the discussions, which was distributed to all delegations on 6 May 2004 (see annex IV).

27. On 14 May 2004, the Working Group convened a formal meeting for an exchange of views with the President of the Security Council for the month of May 2004, Munir Akram (Pakistan), and three other members of the Council, Ronaldo Mota Sardenberg (Brazil), Jean-Marc de La Sablière (France) and Mihnea Ioan Motoc (Romania).

28. The President and members of the Security Council, on the invitation of the Chairman, shared their views on the six topics which the Working Group discussed

in informal consultations and on other matters of interest concerning Security Council reform.

### D. Adoption of the report of the Working Group

29. On 21 July 2004, the Working Group considered and adopted the present report to the General Assembly at its fifty-eighth session.

## IV. Recommendations

30. At its third meeting, on 21 July 2004, the Working Group concluded its work for the fifty-eighth session of the General Assembly. The Working Group decided to recommend that consideration of this item be continued at the fifty-ninth session of the General Assembly, building upon the work done during previous sessions and with a view to facilitating the process of reaching general agreement. To that end, the Working Group on the Question of Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Security Council and Other Matters Related to the Security Council recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of the following draft decision:

"*The General Assembly*,

"*Recalling* its previous resolutions and decisions relevant to the question of representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and other matters related to the Security Council,

"*Having considered* the report of the Open-ended Working Group on the Question of Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Security Council and Other Matters Related to the Security Council, which was established pursuant to its resolution 48/26 of 3 December 1993, on its deliberations during the fifty-eighth session of the General Assembly,[1]

"*Bearing in mind* the United Nations Millennium Declaration of 8 September 2000 adopted by Heads of State and Government,[2] in which they resolved, in respect of reform of the Security Council, to intensify their efforts to achieve a comprehensive reform of the Security Council in all its aspects:

"(a) *Takes note* of the report of the Working Group on the Question of Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Security Council and Other Matters Related to the Security Council on its work during the fifty-eighth session of the General Assembly;[1]

"(b) *Notes with appreciation* the Chairman's initiative to stimulate an active discussion on substantive topics relating to the comprehensive reform of the Security Council, and in that regard, notes the six topics discussed in informal consultations of the Working Group;

"(c) *Urges* the Working Group to continue to exert efforts during the fifty-ninth session, aimed at achieving progress in the consideration of all issues relevant to the question of equitable representation on and increase in

[1] *Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifty-eighth Session, Supplement No. 47* (E/58/47).

[2] General Assembly resolution 55/2.

the membership of the Security Council and other matters related to the Security Council;

"(d) *Decides* that the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and other matters related to the Security Council should be considered during the fifty-ninth session of the General Assembly;

"(e) *Further decides* that the Working Group should continue its work, taking into account the progress achieved during its forty-eighth through fifty-eighth sessions and drawing on the experience of its fifty-eighth session as well as the views to be expressed during its fifty-ninth session, and should submit a report to the Assembly before the end of its fifty-ninth session, including any agreed recommendations."

# Annex I

## Informal note prepared by the President on the reform of the Security Council

### Background

1. The current initiative on the reform of the Security Council was initiated by the General Assembly at its thirty-fourth session, in 1979. In its decision 34/431 of 14 December 1979, the Assembly decided to include the item in its provisional agenda. However, the Assembly did not consider the item until its forty-seventh session, in 1992.

2. In its resolution 48/26 of 3 December 1993, the General Assembly decided to establish an open-ended working group to consider all aspects of the question of increase in the membership of the Security Council, and other matters related to the Security Council. The Open-ended Working Group has, since that time, considered the item "Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters".

3. The President of the General Assembly presides over the Working Group as its Chair. The President, together with two Vice-Chairs, constitutes the Bureau of the Working Group.

### Decision-making

4. In its resolution 53/30, the General Assembly determined that it would not adopt any resolution or decision on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters "without the affirmative vote of at least two thirds of the Members of the General Assembly".

### Method of work

5. The main issues that the Working Group is considering have been divided into two clusters. Cluster I consists of:

**Cluster I**
**Increase in membership and related matters**

(i) Expansion of the Security Council:

- Determining which category (categories) of membership will be enlarged:
  - Increase in non-permanent membership
  - Increase in permanent membership, including the issue of their prerogatives and powers
  - Size of the enlarged Council

(ii) Decision-making in the Security Council, including maintaining, limiting or abolishing the veto;

(iii) Periodic review of the enlarged Security Council.

6. It should be noted that the membership of the Security Council was increased once. In accordance with General Assembly resolution 1991 (XVIII) of 17 December 1963, the membership was increased from 11 to 15 members, the total increase being in the non-permanent member category.

7. Cluster II consists of:

**Cluster II**
**Working methods of the Security Council and transparency of its work**

(i) Improving the transparency and working methods of the Security Council;

(ii) Participation of non-permanent members in the work of the Security Council;

(iii) Relations between the Security Council and the General Assembly and other organs.

**Meetings of the Working Group**

8. At each session of the General Assembly, a series of meetings of the Working Group are convened to permit Member States the opportunity to review existing proposals that remain open for discussion and to advance new ones. The Working Group reports to the General Assembly on the outcome of its work and proposes that it continues that work at its next session.

**Questionnaire circulated at the fifty-seventh session**

9. In an effort to clarify positions on the reform issue, the President of the fifty-seventh session of the General Assembly circulated a questionnaire containing seven items concerning outstanding issues remaining to be resolved by the Working Group and possible steps that might be taken to overcome the obstacles in the reform process. Sixty-four delegations responded to the questionnaire.

10. The overwhelming majority of Member States that responded confirmed that the Working Group remains the legitimate forum for discussing Security Council reform. Also, there was broad agreement that a comprehensive package encompassing the issues in both clusters would be desirable. Most countries expressed the view that the working methods of the Working Group could be improved, and that such improvement would facilitate the process as a whole.

**Discussion at the fifty-eighth session**

11. At the general debate of the fifty-eighth session (23 September-2 October 2003), Member States strongly supported the overall process of reform. Heads of State and Government and other high-level participants in the general debate generally committed themselves to reform of the Security Council but made clear the parameters within which they would expect that reform to occur.

12. The General Assembly's annual plenary debate on the item "Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters" was held on 13, 14 and 17 October 2003. Forty-nine delegations expressed their views on Security Council reform, which was considered to be a central aspect of the overall reform of the United Nations. Their statements centred on the question of expansion of the membership of the Council to make it more representative and thus enhance the legitimacy and credibility of its actions.

Long-standing differences remained on which categories of membership should be expanded and on what terms. The veto continued to come under criticism, with many delegations emphasizing the need to either abolish it or limit its use.

**Developments to date**

*In the Working Group*

13. Progress achieved in the last decade has derived from suggestions of the Working Group in respect of cluster II, "Working methods of the Security Council and transparency of its work". Progress has been made, in particular, in respect of transparency in the working methods of the Council. Movement in respect of the core issues relating to cluster I, however, is progressing slowly. The most difficult issues concern the categories of membership to be enlarged, the veto and the overall numbers of an expanded Security Council.

*High-level Panel on Threats, Challenge and Change*

14. The Secretary-General has established a 16-member High-level Panel on Threats, Challenge and Change to review current and future threats to international peace and security and to identify the contribution that collective action can make and the changes necessary to ensure effective collective action, including a review of the principal organs of the United Nations. The Panel will make suggestions to the Secretary-General, to be presented by him for the consideration of Member States.

**The next steps**

15. Despite some limited success in the area of work methods, significant progress has not been made on Security Council reform. The impasse hindering the evolution of reform stems from the complex nature of the issue. However, the working methods adopted by the Working Group could be improved in order to facilitate progress. Changes in its procedures should contribute to increasing the pace of work of the Group.

16. The President wishes to advance the following for consideration:

(a) The Working Group should proceed with its work with a view to presenting comprehensive proposals for consideration by the General Assembly;

(b) There has been an evolution in some of the working methods and practices in the Security Council in recent years. While continuing with its efforts to achieve progress on both cluster I and cluster II issues, the Working Group may wish to make a particular effort to focus on cluster I issues;

(c) The Working Group should consider its current working methods, including its decision-making processes and the outcome of its deliberations;

(d) Bearing in mind the provisions of Article 108 of the Charter of the United Nations and of General Assembly resolution 53/30, the Working Group should seek to adopt proposals commanding the broadest possible support of Member States;

(e) The Working Group should set a deadline for concluding its work.

# Annex II

## Reference paper

## Five points proposed for consideration by the informal meeting of the Working Group

### Prepared by the Bureau

**23 March 2004**

1. With a view to facilitating dialogue in the Open-ended Working Group, established by the General Assembly in its resolution 48/26 of 3 December 1993, the Bureau proposed, and it was agreed, that an informal exchange of views should proceed on the basis of the following five points:

- Size of an enlarged Security Council
- Question of regional representation
- Criteria for membership
- Relationship between the General Assembly and the Security Council
- Accountability.

2. This reference paper has been prepared as a starting point for the discussion by the Open-ended Working Group on issues raised in the areas the five points address, in the more than a decade of debate on Security Council reform. Drawing on previous discussions in the Open-ended Working Group, the paper provides, in brief, background data on some of the ideas and issues that have shaped the debate over the years, but does not take a position on them. As such, the paper is intended to be solely a basis for encouraging Member States to engage in a constructive exchange of views and ideas on the subjects, with a view to determining where there are points of agreement sufficient to advance the process.

### 1. Size of an enlarged Security Council

3. Discussion on the size of an enlarged Security Council has typically raised many issues, but two in particular. The first concerns the optimum number of Member States of an enlarged Council. Here, proposals put forward by Member States have varied, although not considerably. The specific numbers proposed start at 20 but none exceeds 30. Member States proposing a size range have also remained in the 20-30 range, suggesting, for example, an enlarged Council of 15-24 and 24-26. Additionally, those proposing an upper limit for membership of an enlarged Council have also remained in the 20-30 range, proposing, for example, numbers "no greater than 25". In suggesting numbers, many underscored that an important consideration was to maintain the "efficiency" and "effectiveness" of the Security Council.

4. The second issue concerns the representative nature of the Security Council. The membership of the Security Council is not reflective of the current membership of the United Nations. The view has been generally expressed that a more

representative membership would enhance and strengthen the Council, particularly in respect of the authority of its decisions and action.

5. Member States may wish to focus dialogue on the expansion, size and representative character of an enlarged Security Council, bearing in mind the various issues that have been raised in this context.

## II. Question of regional representation

6. Specific proposals have been made over the 10-year period for principle of equitable geographical distribution to be taken fully into account in determining the membership of the Council. This matter has been the subject of many specific proposals. In the non-permanent membership category, numbers ranging from one to five seats have been proposed for:

- All current regional groups
- The African, Asian and Latin American and Caribbean regions
- Eastern and Western Europe
- The Group of Arab States.

7. Regional representation has also been taken into account in proposals put forward in respect of possible new permanent members of the Council. These have included the allocation of one to two new permanent seats to:

- Regional groups
- The developing regions
- The developing States of Africa, Asia and Latin America and the Caribbean
- Industrialized States
- The group of Arab States
- Asia
- The European Union.

8. Member States may wish to consider how best to meet the standard of equitable geographical distribution and the representations of various regions on an expanded Security Council.

## III. Criteria for membership

9. The Charter of the United Nations sets out, in Article 23, the criteria for the election of Member States as non-permanent members of the Security Council. Election to the Council has proceeded in line with Article 23.

10. In the course of the discussion of reform of the Security Council, it has been proposed that a number of further considerations/criteria should be kept in view in respect of non-permanent membership of the Council, for example:

- Expansion of the non-permanent category should take into account both developing countries and industrialized States
- No State or regional group should be discriminated against in respect of non-permanent membership of the Council

- Retiring non-permanent members should be eligible for immediate re-election
- Countries that make a substantial contribution to peacekeeping activities and financing of the United Nations and represent the majority of the world's population should assume greater responsibility in implementing the Charter.

11. Proposals/considerations put forward in respect of a possible new permanent membership category include:

- Equitable geographical distribution
- Capacity to contribute to United Nations peacekeeping operations.

12. Member States may wish to exchange views on matters that might be taken into account in respect of criteria for Security Council membership, bearing in mind that Article 23 of the Charter regulates this matter.

## IV. Relationship between the General Assembly and the Security Council

13. The relationship between the General Assembly and the Security Council is set out in the relevant Articles of the Charter, particularly Articles 7, 10, 11, 12, 15, 25 and 97. The General Assembly has also adopted resolutions on this issue, including on the United Nations Millennium Declaration (resolution 55/2 of 8 September 2000) and most recently on the revitalization of the work of the General Assembly (58/126 of 19 December 2003).

14. The relationship between the Assembly, Council and general membership of the United Nations has also been the subject of considerable discussion during the course of the 10-year debate on Security Council reform. Convergence of views and accommodation in this area has resulted in provisional agreement being reached on a number of issues:

- Improving annual and special reports of the Security Council to the General Assembly
- Regular monthly consultations among the President of the General Assembly, the President of the Security Council and the Secretary-General.

15. In its resolution 58/126, which contains a comprehensive set of actions for the revitalization of the work of the General Assembly, the Assembly also seeks to orient, in an important way, the relationship between the General Assembly and the Security Council, for the benefit of both bodies. Since its adoption, progress has been made in respect of the regular briefing of the President of the General Assembly by the President of the Security Council, commencing in February 2004 with the Presidency of China. Other aspects of the resolution concerning the Assembly/Council relationship are also being pursued.

16. Member States may wish to exchange views on the relationship of the General Assembly and the Council, including ways to advance the courses of action proposed in Assembly resolution 58/126.

## V. Accountability

17. Views have been exchanged on the matter of the accountability of the Security Council, particularly in the context of resolution 55/2 on the Millennium Declaration. However, no proposal dealing specifically with the matter of

accountability has been made during the more than 10 years in which Security Council reform has been discussed.

18. In addition to Article 24 of the Charter, discussions on the working methods and transparency of the Security Council would have touched upon accountability issues. Member States may wish to hold further dialogue on this issue.

19. The debate on Security Council reform clearly shows that there are no straightforward solutions to this issue. The Bureau has therefore prepared the present reference paper for the consideration of Member States. The Bureau hopes that the paper would stimulate dialogue on the five points that would be beneficial in moving the process forward and assisting Member States in making progress in this important exercise in which we have been engaged for more than a decade.

## Annex III*

# Negative votes of permanent members at public meetings of the Security Council

### Part 1
### Draft resources not adopted owing to the negative vote of a permanent member

| DATE | DRAFT | MEETING NO. | AGENDA ITEM | PERMANENT MEMBER CASTING NEGATIVE VOTE |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 21-Apr-2004 | S/ 2004/313 | 4947 | The situation in Cyprus | Russian Federation |
| 25-Mar-2004 | S/ 2004/240 | 4934 | The situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian question | USA |
| 14-Oct-2003 | S/ 2003/980 | 4842 | The situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian question | USA |
| 16-Sep-2003 | S/ 2003/891 | 4828 | The situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian question | USA |
| 20-Dec-2002 | S/ 2002/1385 | 4681 | The situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian question | USA |
| 30-Jun-2002 | S/ 2002/712 | 4563 | The situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina | USA |
| 14-15-Dec-2001 | S/ 2001/1199 | 4438 | The situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian question | USA |
| 27-28-Mar-2001 | S/ 2001/270 | 4305 | The situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian question | USA |
| 25-Feb-1999 | S/ 1999/201 | 3982 | The situation in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia | China |
| 21-Mar-1997 | S/ 1997/241 | 3756 | The situation in the occupied Arab territories | USA |
| 7-Mar-1997 | S/ 1997/199 | 3747 | The situation in the occupied Arab territories | USA |
| 10-Jan-1997 | S/ 1997/18* | 3730 | Central America: efforts towards peace | China |
| 17-May-1995 | S/ 1995/394 | 3536 | The situation in the occupied Arab territories | USA |
| 2-Dec-1994 | S/ 1994/1358 | 3475 | The situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina | Russian Federation |
| 11-May-1993 | S/ 25693 | 3211 | The situation in Cyprus | Russian Federation |
| 31-May-1990 | S/ 21326 | 2926 | The situation in the occupied Arab territories | USA |
| 17-Jan-1990 | S/ 21084 | 2905 | Letter dated 3 January 1990 from Nicaragua to the President of the Security Council | USA |
| 23-Dec-1989 | S/ 21048 | 2902 | The situation in Panama | France, UK, USA |
| 7-Nov-1989 | S/ 20945/Rev. 1 | 2889 | The situation in the occupied Arab territories | USA |
| 9-Jun-1989 | S/ 20677 | 2867 | The situation in the occupied Arab territories | USA |
| 17-Feb-1989 | S/ 20463 | 2850 | The situation in the occupied Arab territories | USA |
| 11-Jan-1989 | S/ 20378 | 2841 | Letters dated 4 January 1989 from Libya and Bahrain to the President of the Security Council | France, UK, USA |
| 14-Dec-1988 | S/ 20322 | 2832 | The situation in the Middle East | USA |
| 10-May-1988 | S/ 19868 | 2814 | The situation in the Middle East | USA |
| 15-Apr-1988 | S/ 19780 | 2806 | The situation in the occupied Arab territories | USA |
| 8-Mar-1988 | S/ 19585 | 2797 | The question of South Africa | UK, USA |
| 1-Feb-1988 | S/ 19466 | 2790 | The situation in the occupied Arab territories | USA |
| 18-Jan-1988 | S/ 19434 | 2784 | The situation in the Middle East | USA |
| 9-Apr-1987 | S/ 18785 | 2747 | The situation in Namibia | UK, USA |
| 20-Feb-1987 | S/ 18705 | 2738 | The question of South Africa | UK, USA |
| 28-Oct-1986 | S/ 18428 | 2718 | Letter dated 17 October 1986 from Nicaragua to the President of the Security Council | USA |
| 31-Jul-1986 | S/ 18250 | 2704 | Letter dated 22 July 1986 from Nicaragua to the President of the Security Council | USA |
| 18-Jun-1986 | S/ 18163 | 2693 | Complaint by Angola against South Africa | UK, USA |

*Note*: Comments in square brackets do not form a part of the official titles of agenda items and have been included for clarification purposes only.

* The present annex reproduces an unofficial list made available by the Secretariat.

| DATE | DRAFT | MEETING NO. | AGENDA ITEM | PERMANENT MEMBER CASTING NEGATIVE VOTE |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 23-May-1986 | S/ 18087/Rev. 1 | 2686 | The situation in Southern Africa | UK, USA |
| 21-Apr-1986 | S/ 18016/Rev. 1 | 2682 | Letters dated 15 Apr.[1] 1986 from Libya, Burkina Faso, Syria and Oman to the President of the Security Council | France, UK, USA |
| 6-Feb-1986 | S/ 17796/Rev. 1 | 2655 | Letter dated 4 February 1986 from Syria to the President of the Security Council | USA |
| 30-Jan-1986 | S/ 17769/Rev. 1 | 2650 | The situation in the occupied Arab territories | USA |
| 17-Jan-1986 | S/ 17730/Rev. 2 | 2642 | The situation in the Middle East | USA |
| 15-Nov-1985 | S/ 17633 | 2629 | The situation in Namibia | UK, USA |
| 13-Sep-1985 | S/ 17459 | 2605 | The situation in the occupied Arab territories | USA |
| 12-Mar-1985 | S/ 17000 | 2573 | The situation in the Middle East | USA |
| 6-Sep-1984 | S/ 16732 | 2556 | The situation in the Middle East | USA |
| 4-Apr-1984 | S/ 16463 | 2529 | Letter dated 29 March 1984 from Nicaragua to the President of the Security Council | USA |
| 29-Feb-1984 | S/ 16351/Rev. 2 | 2519 | The situation in the Middle East | USSR |
| 27-28-Oct-1983 | S/ 16077/Rev. 1 | 2491 | The situation in Grenada | USA |
| 12-Sep-1983 | S/ 15966/Rev. 1 | 2476 | Letters dated 1 September 1983 from the USA, the Republic of Korea, Canada and Japan to the President of the Security Council and Letter dated 2 September 1983 from Australia to the President of the Security Council | USSR |
| 2-Aug-1983 | S/ 15895 | 2461 | The situation in the occupied Arab territories | USA |
| 6-Aug-1982 | S/ 15347/Rev. 1 | 2391 | The situation in the Middle East | USA |
| 26-Jun-1982 | S/ 15255/Rev. 2 as corrected | 2381 | The situation in the Middle East | USA |
| 8-Jun-1982 | S/ 15185 | 2377 | The situation in the Middle East | USA |
| 4-Jun-1982 | S/ 15156/Rev. 2 | 2373 | Question concerning the situation in the region of the Falkland Islands (Islas Malvinas) | UK, USA |
| 20-Apr-1982 | S/ 14985 | 2357 | The situation in the occupied Arab territories | USA |
| 2-Apr-1982 | S/ 14943 | 2348 | The situation in the occupied Arab territories | USA |
| 2-Apr-1982 | S/ 14941 | 2347 | Letter dated 19 March 1982 from Nicaragua to the Secretary-General | USA |
| 20-Jan-1982 | S/ 14832/Rev. 1 | 2329 | The situation in the occupied Arab territories | USA |
| 31-Aug-1981 | S/ 14664/Rev. 2 | 2300 | Complaint by Angola against South Africa | USA |
| 30-Apr-1981 | S/ 14462 | 2277 | The situation in Namibia | France, UK, USA |
| 30-Apr-1981 | S/ 14461 | 2277 | The situation in Namibia | France, UK, USA |
| 30-Apr-1981 | S/ 14460/Rev. 1 | 2277 | The situation in Namibia | France, UK, USA |
| 30-Apr-1981 | S/ 14459 | 2277 | The situation in Namibia | France, UK, USA |
| 30-Apr-1980 | S/ 13911 | 2220 | The question of the exercise by the Palestinian people of its inalienable rights | USA |
| 11,13-Jan-1980 | S/ 13735 | 2191 | Letters dated 22 December 1979 from the USA to the President of the Security Council [US and Iran hostage question] | USSR |
| 7,9-Jan-1980 | S/ 13729 | 2190 | Letter dated 3 January 1980 from 52 countries to the President of the Security Council | USSR |
| 16-Mar-1979 | S/ 13162 | 2129 | The situation in South-East Asia and its implications for international peace and security [China and Viet Nam border dispute] | USSR |
| 15-Jan-1979 | S/ 13027 | 2112 | Telegram dated 3 January 1979 from Democratic Kampuchea to the President of the Security Council | USSR |
| 31-Oct-1977 | S/ 12312/Rev. 1 | 2045 | The question of South Africa | France, UK, USA |
| 31-Oct-1977 | S/ 12311/Rev. 1 | 2045 | The question of South Africa | France, UK, USA |
| 31-Oct-1977 | S/ 12310/Rev. 1 | 2045 | The question of South Africa | France, UK, USA |
| 15-Nov-1976 | S/ 12226 | 1972 | Admission of new Members [Viet Nam] | USA |
| 19-Oct-1976 | S/ 12211 | 1963 | The situation in Namibia | France, UK, USA |
| 29-Jun-1976 | S/ 12119 | 1938 | The question of the exercise by the Palestinian people of its inalienable rights | USA |
| 23-Jun-1976 | S/ 12110 | 1932 | Admission of new Members [Angola] | USA |

| DATE | DRAFT | MEETING NO. | AGENDA ITEM | PERMANENT MEMBER CASTING NEGATIVE VOTE |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 25-Mar-1976 | S/ 12022 | 1899 | Request by Libya and Pakistan for consideration of the serious situation arising from recent developments in the occupied Arab territories | USA |
| 6-Feb-1976 | S/ 11967 | 1888 | The situation in the Comoros | France |
| 26-Jan-1976 | S/ 11940 | 1879 | The Middle East problem including the Palestinian question | USA |
| 8-Dec-1975 | S/ 11898 | 1862 | The situation in the Middle East | USA |
| 30-Sep-1975 | S/ 11833 | 1846 | Admission of new Members [Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam] | USA |
| 30-Sep-1975 | S/ 11832 | 1846 | Admission of new Members [Republic of South Viet-Nam] | USA |
| 11-Aug-1975 | S/ 11796 | 1836 | Admission of new Members [Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam] | USA |
| 11-Aug-1975 | S/ 11795 | 1836 | Admission of new Members [Republic of South Viet-Nam] | USA |
| 6-Jun-1975 | S/ 11713 | 1829 | The situation in Namibia | France, UK, USA |
| 30-Oct-1974 | S/ 11543 | 1808 | Relationship between the UN and South Africa | France, UK, USA |
| 31-Jul-1974 | S/ 11400 as amended | 1788 | The situation in Cyprus | USSR |
| 26-Jul-1973 | S/ 10974 | 1735 | The situation in the Middle East | USA |
| 22-May-1973 | S/ 10928 | 1716 | Question concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia | UK, USA |
| 21-Mar-1973 | S/ 10931/Rev. 1 | 1704 | Consideration of measures for the maintenance and strengthening of peace and security in Latin America | USA |
| 29-Sep-1972 | S/ 10805/Rev. 1 as amended | 1666 | Question concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia | UK |
| 10-Sep-1972 | S/ 10784 | 1662 | The situation in the Middle East | USA |
| 25-Aug-1972 | S/ 10771 | 1660 | Admission of new Members [Bangladesh] | China |
| 4-Feb-1972 | S/ 10606 | 1639 | Consideration of questions relating to Africa of which the Security Council is currently seized and implementation of the Council's relevant resolutions [the situation in Southern Rhodesia] | UK |
| 30-Dec-1971 | S/ 10489 | 1623 | Question concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia | UK |
| 13-Dec-1971 | S/ 10446/Rev. 1 | 1613 | Letter dated 12 December 1971 from the USA to the President of the Security Council [concerning the India-Pakistan question] | USSR |
| 5-Dec-1971 | S/ 10423 | 1607 | Letter dated 4 December 1971 from Argentina, Belgium, Burundi, Italy, Japan, Nicaragua, Somalia, the UK and the USA to the President of the Security Council [concerning the India-Pakistan question] | USSR |
| 4-Dec-1971 | S/ 10416 | 1606 | Letter dated 4 December 1971 from Argentina, Belgium, Burundi, Italy, Japan, Nicaragua, Somalia, the UK and the USA to the President of the Security Council [concerning the India-Pakistan question] | USSR |
| 10-Nov-1970 | S/ 9976 | 1556 | Question concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia | UK |
| 17-Mar-1970 | S/ 9696 and Corr. 1 & 2 | 1534 | Question concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia | UK, USA |
| 22-Aug-1968 | S/ 8761 | 1443 | Letter dated 21 August 1968 from Canada, Denmark, France, Paraguay, the UK and the USA to the President of the Security Council [concerning the situation in Czechoslovakia] | USSR |
| 4-Nov-1966 | S/ 7575/Rev. 1 | 1319 | The Palestine question | USSR |
| 21-Dec-1964 | S/ 6113 as amended | 1182 | The Palestine question | USSR |
| 17-Sep-1964 | S/ 5973 | 1152 | Letter dated 3 September 1964 from Malaysia to the President of the Security Council | USSR |
| 13-Sep-1963 | S/ 5425/Rev. 1 | 1089 | The situation in Southern Rhodesia | UK |
| 3-Sep-1963 | S/ 5407 | 1083 | The Palestine question | USSR |
| 22-Jun-1962 | S/ 5134 | 1016 | The India-Pakistan question | USSR |
| 18-Dec-1961 | S/ 5033 | 988 | Letter dated 18 December 1961 from Portugal to the President of the Security Council [concerning Goa] | USSR |
| 30-Nov-1961 | S/ 5006 | 985 | Applications for Membership [Kuwait] | USSR |
| 7-Jul-1961 | S/ 4855 | 960 | Complaints by Kuwait in respect of the situation arising from the threat by Iraq to the territorial integrity of Kuwait; Complaint by Iraq in respect of the situation arising out of the | USSR |

| DATE | DRAFT | MEETING NO. | AGENDA ITEM | PERMANENT MEMBER CASTING NEGATIVE VOTE |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | armed threat by the UK to the independence and security of Iraq | |
| 13-Dec-1960 | S/ 4578/Rev. 1 | 920 | Letter dated 13 July 1960 from the Secretary-General to the President of the Security Council [the situation in the Congo] | USSR |
| 3-4-Dec-1960 | S/ 4567/Rev. 1 | 911 | Applications for membership [Mauritania] | USSR |
| 17-Sep-1960 | S/ 4523 | 906 | Letter dated 13 July 1960 from the Secretary-General to the President of the Security Council [concerning the situation in the Congo] | USSR |
| 26-Jul-1960 | S/ 4409/Rev. 1 | 883 | Telegrams dated 13 July 1960 from the USSR to the Secretary-General | USSR |
| 26-Jul-1960 | S/ 4411 | 883 | Telegrams dated 13 July 1960 from the USSR to the Secretary-General | USSR |
| 9-Dec-1958 | S/ 4130/Rev. 1 | 843 | Admission of new Members [Viet-Nam] | USSR |
| 9-Dec-1958 | S/ 4129/Rev. 1 | 843 | Admission of new Members [Republic of Korea] | USSR |
| 22-Jul-1958 | S/ 4055/Rev. 1 | 837 | Letter dated 22 May 1958 from Lebanon and Letter dated 17 July 1958 from Jordan to the President of the Security Council [Complaints by Lebanon and Jordan concerning the interference in their internal affairs by the United Arab Republic] | USSR |
| 18-Jul-1958 | S/ 4050/Rev. 1 | 834 | Letter dated 22 May 1958 from Lebanon and Letter dated 17 July 1958 from Jordan to the President of the Security Council [Complaints by Lebanon and Jordan concerning the interference in their internal affairs by the United Arab Republic] | USSR |
| 2-May-1958 | S/ 3995 incorporating the amendment, S/3998 | 817 | Complaint by USSR in a letter to the President of the Security Council dated 18 April 1958 entitled "Urgent measures to put an end to flights by US military aircraft armed with atomic and hydrogen bombs in the direction of the frontiers of the Soviet Union" | USSR |
| 9-Sep-1957 | S/ 3885 | 790 | Admission of new Members [Viet-Nam] | USSR |
| 9-Sep-1957 | S/ 3884 | 790 | Admission of new Members [Republic of Korea] | USSR |
| 20-Feb-1957 | S/ 3787 | 773 | The India-Pakistan question | USSR |
| 4-Nov-1956 | S/ 3730/Rev. 1 | 754 | Letter dated 27 October 1956 from France, the UK and the USA to the President of the Security Council concerning the situation in Hungary | USSR |
| 30-Oct-1956 | S/ 3713/Rev. 1 as amended | 750 | Letter dated 29 October 1956 from the USA to the President of the Security Council [concerning the Palestine question] | France, UK |
| 30-Oct-1956 | S/ 3710 as amended | 749 | Letter dated 29 October 1956 from the USA to the President of the Security Council [concerning the Palestine question] | France, UK |
| 15-Dec-1955 | S/ 3510 | 706 | Admission of new Members [Japan] | USSR |
| 20-Jun-1954 | S/ 3236/Rev. 1 | 675 | Cablegram dated 19 June 1954 from Guatemala to the President of the Security Council | USSR |
| 18-Jun-1954 | S/ 3229 | 674 | Letter dated 29 May 1954 from Thailand to the President of the Security Council | USSR |
| 29-Mar-1954 | S/ 3188/Corr. 1 | 664 | The Palestine question | USSR |
| 22-Jan-1954 | S/ 3151/Rev. 2 | 656 | The Palestine question | USSR |
| 19-Sep-1952 | S/ 2760 | 603 | Admission of new Members [Cambodia] | USSR |
| 19-Sep-1952 | S/ 2759 | 603 | Admission of new Members [Laos] | USSR |
| 19-Sep-1952 | S/ 2758 | 603 | Admission of new Members [Vietnam] | USSR |
| 18-Sep-1952 | S/ 2754 | 602 | Admission of new Members [Japan] | USSR |
| 16-Sep-1952 | S/ 2483 | 600 | Admission of new Members [Libya] | USSR |
| 9-Jul-1952 | S/ 2688 | 590 | Question of a request for investigation of alleged bacterial warfare | USSR |
| 3-Jul-1952 | S/ 2671 | 587 | Question of a request for investigation of alleged bacterial warfare | USSR |
| 6-Feb-1952 | S/ 2443 | 573 | Admission of new Members [Italy] | USSR |
| 30-Nov-1950 | S/ 1894 | 530 | Complaint of armed invasion of Taiwan (Formosa); Complaint of aggression upon the Republic of Korea | USSR |
| 12-Sep-1950 | S/ 1752 | 501 | Complaint of bombing by air forces of the territory of China | USSR |
| 6-Sep-1950 | S/ 1653 | 496 | Complaint of aggression upon the Republic of Korea | USSR |
| 18-Oct-1949 | S/ 1408/Rev. 1 | 452 | Regulation and reduction of armaments and armed forces | USSR |
| 18-Oct-1949 | S/ 1399/Rev. 1 | 452 | Regulation and reduction of armaments and armed forces | USSR |

| DATE | DRAFT | MEETING NO. | AGENDA ITEM | PERMANENT MEMBER CASTING NEGATIVE VOTE |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 11-Oct-1949 | S/ 1398 | 450 | Regulation and reduction of armaments and armed forces | USSR |
| 13-Sep-1949 | S/ 1337 | 443 | Application for Membership [Ceylon] | USSR |
| 13-Sep-1949 | S/ 1336 | 443 | Application for Membership [Austria] | USSR |
| 13-Sep-1949 | S/ 1335 | 443 | Application for Membership [Ireland] | USSR |
| 13-Sep-1949 | S/ 1334 | 443 | Application for Membership [Finland] | USSR |
| 13-Sep-1949 | S/ 1333 | 443 | Application for Membership [Italy] | USSR |
| 13-Sep-1949 | S/ 1332 | 443 | Application for Membership [Transjordan] | USSR |
| 13-Sep-1949 | S/ 1331 | 443 | Application for Membership [Portugal] | USSR |
| 7-Sep-1949 | S/ 1385 | 439 | Application for Membership [Nepal] | USSR |
| 8-Apr-1949 | S/ 1305 | 423 | Application for Membership [Republic of Korea] | USSR |
| 15-Dec-1948 | S/ PV 384 | 384 | Application for Membership [Ceylon] | USSR |
| 25-Oct-1948 | S/ 1048 | 372 | Identical notifications dated 29 September 1948 from France, the UK and the USA to the Secretary-General [Berlin blockade] | USSR |
| 18-Aug-1948 | S/ PV. 351 | 351 | Application for Membership [Ceylon] | USSR |
| 22-Jun-1948 | S/ 836 | 325 | Letter dated 26 May 1948, from the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission to the President of the Security Council, transmitting the Third Report of the Commission | USSR |
| 24-May-1948 | S/ PV. 3038 | 303 | Letter dated 12 Mar 1948 from Chile to the Secretary-General [events in Czechoslovakia] | USSR |
| 24-May-1948 | S/ PV. 303 | 303 | Letter dated 12 Mar 1948 from Chile to the Secretary-General [events in Czechoslovakia] [preliminary question] | USSR |
| 10-Apr-1948 | S/ PV 279 | 279 | Application for Membership [Italy] | USSR |
| 1-Oct-1947 | S/ PV 206 | 206 | Application for Membership [Italy] | USSR |
| 1-Oct-1947 | S/ PV 206 | 206 | Application for Membership [Finland] | USSR |
| 15-Sep-1947 | S/ 552, S/PV 202 | 202 | The Greek question [concerning the situation in northern Greece] [preliminary question] | USSR |
| 15-Sep-1947 | S/ 552 | 202 | The Greek question [concerning the situation in northern Greece] | USSR |
| 21-Aug-1947 | S/ PV 190 | 190 | Application for Membership [Austria] | USSR |
| 21-Aug-1947 | S/ PV 190 | 190 | Application for Membership [Italy] | USSR |
| 19-Aug-1947 | S/ 486 | 188 | The Greek question [Greek frontier incidents] | USSR |
| 19-Aug-1947 | S/ 471 and Add. 1 | 188 | The Greek question [Greek frontier incidents] | USSR |
| 18-Aug-1947 | S/ PV. 186 | 186 | Application for Membership [Portugal] | USSR |
| 18-Aug-1947 | S/ PV. 186 | 186 | Application for Membership [Ireland] | USSR |
| 18-Aug-1947 | S/ PV. 186 | 186 | Application for Membership [Transjordan] | USSR |
| 29-Jul-1947 | S/ PV. 170 | 170 | The Greek question [Greek frontier incidents] | USSR |
| 25-Mar-1947 | S/ PV. 122 | 122 | Incidents in the Corfu Channel | USSR |
| 20-Sep-1946 | S/ PV. 70 | 70 | Telegram dated 24 August 1946 from the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic to the Secretary-General | USSR |
| 29-Aug-1946 | S/ PV. 57 | 57 | Application for Membership [Portugal] | USSR |
| 29-Aug-1946 | S/ PV. 57 | 57 | Application for Membership [Ireland] | USSR |
| 29-Aug-1946 | S/ PV. 57 | 57 | Application for Membership [Transjordan] | USSR |
| 26-Jun-1946 | S/ PV. 49 | 49 | The Spanish question | USSR |
| 26-Jun-1946 | S/ PV. 49 | 49 | The Spanish question [preliminary question] | USSR |
| 26-Jun-1946 | S/ PV. 49 | 49 | The Spanish question | USSR |
| 18-Jun-1946 | S/ PV. 45 | 47 | The Spanish question | USSR |
| 16-Feb-1946 | S/ PV.23 | 23 | Letter from the Heads of the Lebanese and Syrian delegations to the Secretary-General dated 4 February 1946 | USSR |

## Part II
## Paragraphs of draft resolutions or amendments thereto not adopted owing to the negative vote of a permanent member

| DATE | DRAFT | AMENDMENT/ PARA(S) | MEETING NO. | AGENDA ITEM | PERMANENT MEMBER CASTING NEGATIVE VOTE |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 26-Jul-1985 | S/ 17354/Rev. 1* | Amendment contained in S/17363 | 2602 | The question of South Africa | UK, USA |
| 29-Sep-1972 | S/ 10805/Rev. 1 | Operative para. 1 | 1666 | Question concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia | UK |
| 29-Sep-1972 | S/ 10805/Rev. 1 | Operative para. 5 | 1666 | Question concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia | UK |
| 10-Sep-1972 | S/ 10784 | Amendment in S/10786, para.2 (a) | 1662 | The situation in the Middle East | China, USSR |
| 24-Nov-1961 | S/ 4985/Rev. 1 | Amendment in S/4989/Rev. 2, para. 6 | 982 | Letter dated 13 July 1960 from the Secretary-General to the President of the Security Council [concerning the situation in the Congo] | USSR |
| 24-Nov-1961 | S/ 4985/Rev. 1 | Amendment in S/4989/Rev. 2, para. 3 | 982 | Letter dated 13 July 1960 from the Secretary-General to the President of the Security Council [concerning the situation in the Congo] | USSR |
| 20/21-Feb-1961 | S/ 4733/Rev. 1 | Amendment to preambular para. 1 (S/PV.942, para.172) | 942 | Letter dated 13 July 1960 from the Secretary-General to the President of the Security Council [concerning the situation in the Congo] | USSR |
| 20/21-Feb-1961 | S/ 4733/Rev. 1 | Amendment to preambular para. 1 (S/PV.942, para.128) | 942 | Letter dated 13 July 1960 from the Secretary-General to the President of the Security Council [concerning the situation in the Congo] | USSR |
| 13-Oct-1956 | S/ 3671 as amended | Operative para. 2 to the end of the draft resolution | 743 | Situation created by the unilateral action of the Egyptian Government in bringing to an end the system of international operation of the Suez Canal, which was confirmed and completed by the Suez Canal Convention of 1888 | USSR |
| 14-Dec-1955 | S/ 3509 | Amendment to include Japan in the list of countries in preambular para. 2 (S/PV. 705, para.11) | 705 | Admission of new Members [Albania, Jordan, Ireland, Portugal, Hungary, Italy, Austria, Romania, Bulgaria, Finland, Ceylon, Nepal, Libya, Cambodia, Laos, Spain] | USSR |
| 13-Dec-1955 | S/ 3502 | Preambular para. 2 (the word "Spain") | 704 | Admission of new Members [Spain, Laos, Japan, Cambodia, Libya, Nepal, Ceylon, Finland, Austria, Italy, Portugal, Ireland, Jordan, Mongolia] | USSR |
| 13-Dec-1955 | S/ 3502 | Preambular para. 2 (the word "Laos") | 704 | Admission of new Members [as above] | USSR |
| 13-Dec-1955 | S/ 3502 | Preambular para. 2 (the word "Japan") | 704 | Admission of new Members [as above] | USSR |
| 13-Dec-1955 | S/ 3502 | Preambular para. 2 (the word "Cambodia") | 704 | Admission of new Members [as above] | USSR |
| 13-Dec-1955 | S/ 3502 | Preambular para. 2 (the word "Libya") | 704 | Admission of new Members [as above] | USSR |
| 13-Dec-1955 | S/ 3502 | Preambular para. 2 (the word "Nepal") | 704 | Admission of new Members [as above] | USSR |
| 13-Dec-1955 | S/ 3502 | Preambular para. 2 (the word "Ceylon") | 704 | Admission of new Members [as above] | USSR |
| 13-Dec-1955 | S/ 3502 | Preambular para. 2 (the word "Finland") | 704 | Admission of new Members [as above] | USSR |
| 13-Dec-1955 | S/ 3502 | Preambular para. 2 (the word "Austria") | 704 | Admission of new Members [as above] | USSR |

| DATE | DRAFT | AMENDMENT/ PARA(S) | MEETING NO. | AGENDA ITEM | PERMANENT MEMBER CASTING NEGATIVE VOTE |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 13-Dec-1955 | S/ 3502 | Preambular para. 2 (the word "Italy") | 704 | Admission of new Members [as above] | USSR |
| 13-Dec-1955 | S/ 3502 | Preambular para. 2 (the word "Portugal") | 704 | Admission of new Members [as above] | USSR |
| 13-Dec-1955 | S/ 3502 | Preambular para. 2 (the word "Ireland") | 704 | Admission of new Members [as above] | USSR |
| 13-Dec-1955 | S/ 3502 | Preambular para. 2 (the word "Jordan") | 704 | Admission of new Members [as above] | USSR |
| 13-Dec-1955 | S/ 3502 | Preambular para. 2 (the word "Mongolia") | 704 | Admission of new Members [as above] | China |
| 13-Dec-1955 | S/ 3502 | Amendment providing for the inclusion of the Republic of Viet-Nam in the list of countries in preambular para. 2 (S/3506) | 704 | Admission of new Members [Republic of Viet-Nam] | USSR |
| 13-Dec-1955 | S/ 3502 | Amendment providing for the inclusion of the Republic of Korea in the list of countries in preambular para. 2 (S/3506) | 704 | Admission of new Members [Republic of Korea] | USSR |
| 30-Nov-1950 | S/ 1894 | Preambular para. 4 to the end of the draft resolution | 530 | Complaint of armed invasion of Taiwan (Formosa); Complaint of aggression upon the Republic of Korea | USSR |
| 30-Nov-1950 | S/ 1894 | Preambular paras. 1-3 | 530 | Complaint of armed invasion of Taiwan (Formosa), Complaint of aggression upon the Republic of Korea | USSR |
| 13-Dec-1949 | S/ 1431 | Para. 5 | 456 | The Indonesian question | USSR |
| 13-Dec-1949 | S/ 1431 | Paras. 1-4 | 456 | The Indonesian question | USSR |
| 25-Aug-1947 | S/ 513 | Amendments set out in S/PV. 194, p. 2197 | 194 | The Indonesian question | France |
| 18-Jun-1946 | S/ PV.45, p.326 | Para. (c) | 47 | The Spanish question | USSR |
| 18-Jun-1946 | S/ PV.45, p.326 | Para. (b) | 47 | The Spanish question | USSR |
| 18-Jun-1946 | S/ PV.45, p.326 | Para. (a) | 47 | The Spanish question | USSR |

# Annex IV

## Chairman's summary of discussions

1. The Open-ended Working Group on the Question of Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Security Council and Other Matters Related to the Security Council held a series of informal consultations on 19 February, 11, 23 and 26 March and 5 to 8 and 19 April 2004.

2. The Working Group focused its discussions in the informal consultations on the following five topics outlined in a reference paper dated 23 March 2004 (see annex I).

- Size of an enlarged Security Council
- Question of regional representation
- Criteria for membership
- Relationship between the General Assembly and the Security Council
- Accountability

The Working Group subsequently discussed a sixth topic:

- The use of the veto

**Topic 1**
**Size of an enlarged Security Council**

3. There was a widespread convergence of views in favour of an increase in the membership of the Security Council. With the increase in the membership of the Organization from 51 in 1945 to 191, the composition of the Council should reflect current realities.

4. It was noted there were 11 members of the Security Council and 51 Member States at the birth of the United Nations in 1945. Council membership at that time represented 21.56 per cent of the membership of the Organization, or a ratio of one Council member to every five Member States.

5. In 1963, when the Council was enlarged to 15 members and the total United Nations membership was 112, Council membership represented 13 per cent, or a ratio of one Council member to every 8 Member States. Today, with a total membership of 191 Member States, the Council represents 7.85 per cent of the United Nations membership or a ratio of 1 Council member to every 12.5 Member States. Some delegations considered that an expanded Security Council should reflect similar proportions and ratios to those of 1963 (i.e., that the Council should represent 13 per cent of the Organization or a ratio of one Council member to every 8 Member States).

6. A majority of those speaking in favour of an expanded Security Council proposed numbers ranging from 24 to 26 members, which would involve an increase of between nine and 11 members. An enlarged Council of 20 to 23 or 27 members was also suggested.

7. It was emphasized that the question of the size of the Council could not be addressed without considering the question of new permanent members. A view was

also expressed that a decision on the size of an expanded Council should result from the process of identifying new members, rather than the other way around.

8. Many speakers expressed support for an increase in the membership of the Security Council in both the permanent and non-permanent categories. A number of delegations proposed that certain Member States from the industrialized and developing countries should assume permanent seats in an enlarged Council.

9. Other delegations held the view that if there was no consensus among regional groups regarding candidates for permanent membership, Council expansion should only take place in the non-permanent category. Other delegations held the view that Council expansion should only take place in the non-permanent category. Since the developing countries were underrepresented in the Council, their increased membership in the non-permanent category would promote greater representativity.

10. Several delegations also expressed the view that any enlargement of the Security Council should take into account the ratio of permanent to non-permanent members. It was suggested that this ratio should be 1:3 or 1:4.

11. The efficiency and effectiveness of an enlarged Security Council was also highlighted as an important factor in Council expansion. It was pointed out that efficiency and effectiveness must be overriding concerns in connection with Security Council reform in general and with enlargement in particular.

12. Different interpretations of the terms "efficiency" and "effectiveness" were offered. It was suggested that the two terms should be read together. The effectiveness of the Council would benefit from an enlargement that would make the Council more representative. Other speakers questioned whether efficiency and effectiveness were directly related to the size of the Council, while still others expressed the view that efficiency and effectiveness were already lacking in the Council's current configuration.

13. Several delegations raised the question of the veto, reiterating the need to curtail its use, including by restricting the right of veto to resolutions under chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, and/or by abolishing it. Other delegations drew attention to the question of the prerogatives and powers that should be afforded to any new permanent members. Some speakers expressed the view that new permanent members should have the same rights and obligations as current permanent members, while others felt that new permanent members should not be given the veto power.

**Topic 2**
**Question of regional representation**

14. Some delegations again commented on topic 1. Many delegations expressed support for an increase in both permanent and non-permanent membership categories, stressing the increase in the general membership of the United Nations and taking into account new economic and political circumstances. Some delegations also proposed specific industrialized and developing Member States for permanent seats in an enlarged Security Council.

15. Regarding topic 2, some delegations were of the view that if consensus was not reached among regional groups on new permanent members, the increase in Council membership should be confined to the less controversial non-permanent category. It

was pointed out that developing countries, in particular, were underrepresented in the Council, and that an expansion of the non-permanent category would bring greater representivity. Other delegations held the view that Council expansion should only take place in the non-permanent category. Some delegations asserted, on the other hand, that certain regions were overrepresented on the Council in its current composition.

16. Regarding possible new permanent Council seats to be allocated to regional groups, some delegations were of the opinion that it was for each regional group to decide which State should represent the group. Others suggested that the General Assembly should make the determination on new permanent members.

17. All five current regional groups in the United Nations were mentioned during the discussion in relation to an enlarged Security Council. Additionally, proposals were made for other groupings to be represented. Views were also expressed on some specific aspects of groupings. Some delegations were of the view that the system of regional groups now in place did not reflect current geopolitical realities.

18. Specific comments were made on the meaning of the term "regional representation" in the course of the discussion. Some delegations expressed the view that the terms "regional representation" and "equitable geographical distribution" were identical and were therefore interchangeable. These delegations expressed preference for the use of the latter term.

19. Others delegations understood the term "regional representation" to be different from the concept of "equitable geographical distribution" contained in article 23.1 of the Charter. They indicated that the Charter did not make reference to "regional groups", questioned the meaning of the term "regional representation" and cautioned against its use. Proposals were made for representation of the Middle East and the Pacific in an enlarged Security Council. Some delegations also suggested that, as the Arab Group had proposed several years ago, that Group should have one permanent seat or two non-permanent seats on the Council.

20. Some delegations considered the Western European and Other States Group and the Eastern European States Group to be anachronistic given the increasingly close institutional linkages between western and eastern Europe.

21. Some delegations were of the view that regional representation should be based on the current system of regional groups. It was also proposed that there might be an expansion in the numbers of permanent seats for industrialized States and developing States as categories. It was proposed, in that regard, that two permanent seats might be for industrialized States and three permanent seats for developing countries, and that these seats might be allocated on the basis of equitable geographical representation.

22. The notion of "regional representation" was challenged by some delegations in respect of membership of the Council. A number of delegations were of the view that the non-permanent members of the Council, although elected on a regional basis, did not represent their respective regions. Rather, as members of Security Council, they should have a global role and an obligation to the international community as a whole.

23. The view was also expressed that given the growing importance of regional organizations in dealing with matters of international peace and security, they should

be permitted increased participation in the decision-making process of the Security Council.

24. Some delegations suggested that permanent seats might be established for regional groups, and that Member States of such groups might hold their seats on a rotational basis similar to the system of rotation practised by the African Group and Arab States. A number of delegations stressed that if rotation was applied within a group, it should be ensured that no country in that group was excluded.

25. Some delegations contended that, since each region had its own characteristics, the rotation model could perhaps function for certain regional groups, while not being applicable to other regional groups. A number of delegations were of the view that the idea of rotating permanent membership of the Security Council needed to be further explored.

26. It was pointed out by some delegations that Article 23 of the Charter set the basic criteria for Council membership. The following criteria were cited: the ability to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organization, as well as respect for equitable geographical distribution. It was argued by some delegations that objective and universally acceptable criteria had yet to be worked out to define and measure the capabilities of States relevant to the maintenance of international peace and security.

27. Proposals were made to add criteria to those mentioned in Article 23, such as the level of financial contribution to the United Nations, size of population, standing and role at the regional level, size of military forces, contributions to peacekeeping operations, as well as accountability. Some argued that smaller countries could also contribute essential ideas that may prove even more effective for international peace and security.

28. On the issues of legitimacy and effectiveness, some delegations emphasized that expansion of the Security Council could achieve the goal of legitimacy, without limiting the effectiveness. Limited membership had not achieved efficiency nor had it met expectations on the maintenance of international peace and security. It was considered that expansion would not have a negative impact on effectiveness and efficiency. Other delegations expressed the view that adding new permanent members would not contribute to making the Security Council efficient.

29. Commenting on the veto, some delegations stressed the importance of abolishing this privilege of the permanent members. They contended that resorting to veto power had undermined the authority and functioning of the Security Council. They also pointed out that the veto was exercised on the basis of national interest and not in the interest of the generality of the membership.

30. Some speakers stated that they were opposed to the veto for reasons of principle. Notwithstanding, were there to be new permanent members, they should be given the same privileges as existing permanent members. Other delegations stressed that were there to be new permanent members, no new veto powers should be given. A number of delegations stated their strongly held belief that Security Council members should be accountable to the general membership of the United Nations.

**Topic 3**
**Criteria for membership**

31. The discussions on the topic of criteria for Security Council membership took as a point of departure Article 23.1 of the Charter. Opinions on the interpretation and applicability of Article 23.1 to criteria for Council membership differed.

32. It was the view of some delegations that the wording of Article 23.1 was fair and reasonable in setting out criteria for membership in the Security Council. They contended that the idea of reform was to give greater representation to developing countries, and not to go beyond the principles established in Article 23.1. Other delegations were of the opinion that Article 23.1 no longer accurately reflected the demands and obligations placed on Council members and that other criteria should be added, if necessary by amending Article 23.1 to accommodate the interests of developing countries. Some suggestions were put forward on other criteria that might be included for membership in the Council.

33. The question was raised as to whether Article 23.1 was also applicable to permanent members or to non-permanent members only. Some speakers were of the view that Article 23.1 clearly identified the criteria for non-permanent members, and was therefore applicable to non-permanent members only. Others asserted that Article 23.1 was applicable to permanent members as well, since both categories of members ought to be judged against the same criteria. They cited, in particular, the contribution of a State to the maintenance of international peace and security which could involve material, human and financial contributions. It was also pointed out Article 23.1 was so worded because at the time that the Charter was drafted, no consideration was given to the possibility of permanent members other than those referred to in the article.

34. Most speakers interpreted Article 23.1 as having two different criteria — the contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the organization; and equitable geographical distribution. Some delegations, however, stressed that the criteria set out in Article 23.1 should be considered together and not separately. This interpretation would enhance the prospects of smaller States to be elected to the Security Council, irrespective of the size of its population or economic power, because all Member States would be treated equally in accordance with the principle of sovereign equality.

35. Regarding equitable geographical distribution, the view was expressed that this was the one criterion that was clearly applied in practice, given that the allocation of seats to the regional groups was regulated by a General Assembly resolution. Some delegations were critical of the current practice, contending that the current distribution of seats in the Security Council was not equitable and that Article 23.1 did not provide for a mechanism to reflect changes in regional groups. There was also an appeal to reach a common understanding on the interpretation of the criteria stipulated in Article 23.1, since there were no regional groups when the Charter was adopted.

36. There was broad agreement that the criterion of Article 23.1, "contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security and the other purposes of the organization", was open to interpretation, and different interpretations were advanced in this connection. The view was expressed that financial contributions were the most important and scarce asset for the United Nations, and was of

paramount importance as an objective criterion. Further, financial contributions to the United Nations could be measured in a way that would create two different perspectives — in absolute numbers or in per capita contribution. Other delegations expressed that view that the Security Council must not be composed of economically powerful States only. Some stated that financial contribution should not be overstressed to justify the expansion of permanent seats.

37. Some delegations expressed the view that the term "contribution" could not be measured in financial terms only. Several other and broader ways of contributing to the maintenance of international peace and security were mentioned. These included: the size of military force necessary to maintain peace; financial strength; adherence to the Charter and Security Council and Assembly resolutions; and peaceful settlement of disputes. It was also stated that the criteria of "contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security" were difficult to evaluate objectively, and as a result, had not been applied consistently in practice.

38. A number of delegations pointed out that the records of smaller countries' membership in the Security Council indicated that they could make substantial contributions to the maintenance of international peace and security. Smaller countries had indeed contributed in such ways, in particular by playing a mediating role, advancing respect for international law and providing models for the peaceful settlement of disputes.

39. It was argued, during the course of discussions, that it would not be possible to reach consensus on new criteria, given the conflicting viewpoints on this issue. The opinion was also expressed that new criteria were not likely to gain agreement among permanent members of the Security Council.

40. Notwithstanding, ideas were advanced for establishing new criteria for membership of the Security Council. Elements suggested for consideration as criteria included: peacekeeping contributions; contribution to the United Nations budget; population; size; political and economic power and potential; stability of economic system; military force; reduction of military expenditures; eradication of poverty; promotion of education; and influence of civilization. Some delegations pointed out that the principles of non-use of force in international relations, respect for international law, promotion of human rights, and contribution to humanitarian assistance, were the most effective ways of contributing to international peace and security.

41. Some delegations stressed that members of the Security Council should have a clear sense of responsibility, which should not be disassociated from accountability. It was considered to be necessary to develop a system of accountability on the part of the Member States elected to the Security Council. Regarding implementation of Security Council decisions, some delegations stated that permanent members bore foremost responsibility in this area, and their current obligations should be studied.

42. It was proposed in the discussions that Article 23.2 should be amended in order to allow for immediate re-election of Member States to the Security Council. However, other delegations preferred maintaining the current formulation of the Article, in order to better ensure rotation of membership among Member States to the Security Council. Some delegations argued that such an amendment would create a new category of non-permanent members, which they considered would be counterproductive.

**Topic 4**
**Relationship between the General Assembly and the Security Council**

43. At the outset of the discussion, the President of the General Assembly reminded delegations that the matter of the relationship between the General Assembly and the Security Council was under discussion, in the framework of the initiatives to revitalize the General Assembly. He specifically referred to General Assembly resolution 58/126; in particular its operative paragraphs 2 (Security Council reporting on specific topics), 5 (briefings of the President of the General Assembly by the President of the Security Council) and 6 (joint meetings of the Presidents of the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council). The President gave a brief assessment as to the implementation of those provisions. The topics to which he referred were taken up by numerous delegations during the course of the discussions.

44. Many delegations pointed to relevant Articles of the Charter as a means of clarifying the relationship between the General Assembly and the Security Council. Reference was made, in particular, to Articles 11, 12, 15, 24 and 25. It was emphasized, in accordance with Article 24.1, that Member States "confer" on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security and that the Security Council "act on their behalf", that is, in respect of the wider membership represented in the General Assembly.

45. In discussing the relationship between the General Assembly and the Security Council, many delegations highlighted various Assembly resolutions, including resolution 377 (V) of 3 November 1950 (Uniting for peace) and resolution 58/126 of 19 December 2003. Those resolutions were cited in support of arguments to clarify the relationship between the Assembly and the Council and for strengthening the legislative role of the General Assembly.

46. There was a general agreement that the relationship between the General Assembly and the Security Council should be enhanced. Many delegations believed that the Council, in order to achieve this objective, should increase the transparency of its work and improve its working methods. The annual and special reports of the Security Council to the General Assembly were highlighted as a means of determining the level of transparency of the Council. Some delegations also considered this to be an implicit recognition of the accountability of the Security Council to the General Assembly.

47. A number of delegations, while recognizing the improvement of the annual reports of the Security Council in the recent past, called for more comprehensive, substantive and analytical annual reports. It was considered that the annual report should explain how the Security Council dealt with issues under its purview during the reporting period, and thus enable the Assembly to better respond to the report. It was also pointed out that the Working Group itself was a very important mechanism in the relationship between the two organs.

48. Some delegations considered that the Security Council was gradually encroaching on the powers and mandate of the General Assembly. Various reasons were given to explain this phenomenon. A number of delegations questioned the thematic work carried out by the Security Council, in particular as these related to issues that did not fall within the mandate to maintain international peace and security. Delegations commenting on this matter cited areas such as gender equality,

poverty, children in armed conflicts, rule of law and human rights, which traditionally fall within the competence of the General Assembly or the Economic and Social Council. It was argued that addressing these issues, including establishing definitions and taking action, fell within the legislative and standard-setting purview of the General Assembly.

49. The opinion was expressed that the nature of situations posing threats to international peace and security had changed significantly. There had, in particular, been a dramatic shift from inter-State to intra-State conflicts. Consequently, it was necessary for the Council to deal with issues such as humanitarian assistance and post-conflict peacebuilding which might be perceived as falling within the competence of other organs.

50. Other delegations expressed the opinion that the "migration" of issues from the General Assembly to the Security Council was due not only to the willingness of the Council to expand the scope of its activities into other areas, but also to the inability of the Assembly to deal with these issues in an effective manner. A more effectively functioning General Assembly was thus a prerequisite for establishing a more balanced relationship between the two organs. The view was expressed that ideally, the Council should take policy actions on threats to international peace and security, with the General Assembly providing the necessary legislative basis. Given the overloaded agenda of the Council, shared benefits would come from a more effective General Assembly.

51. Several delegations noted that the Security Council had become increasingly active in the areas of standard-setting (reference was made here to Security Council resolution 1373 and the Counter-Terrorism Committee). Some delegations were skeptical about this development since, in their view, it took the Council outside its mandate under the Charter.

52. It was generally acknowledged that the Security Council had undertaken important measures to improve the transparency of its work. The improved quality of its reporting, the more frequent holding of open meetings and open debates and briefings for non-Members of the Council (such as by the Chairman of the Counter-Terrorism Committee) were mentioned in that respect.

53. Several speakers gave credit to the Working Group for having a catalytic effect in bringing about these improvements. Many delegations made specific suggestions for further improving the transparency of the Security Council's work, notably:

- More open meetings of the Security Council
- Involvement of affected States in the informal consultations and decision-making in the Council
- Improved briefings by the President of the Security Council
- During the open debate of the Security Council, non-members should speak before, and not after members of the Security Council, as is now the practice
- The Rules of Procedure of the Security Council should not be "provisional". The General Assembly should also be able to participate in formulating the rules of procedure of the Security Council
- Monthly consultations between the Presidents of the General Assembly and the Security Council should be institutionalized

- The General Assembly should activate the formula of "Uniting for peace" (resolution 377 (V) of 3 November 1950) so that issues could be taken up by the Assembly when the Security Council failed to made decisions
- The veto should be reviewed in the context of the comprehensive reform of the Security Council

54. The recent consultations between some members of the Security Council and members of the Non-aligned Movement on the issue of non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and the participation of non-members in a meeting of the Security Council Working Group on Peacekeeping were mentioned as very recent and positive developments in the relationship between the Security Council and the United Nations membership as a whole.

55. The regular exchange of views between the Presidents of the General Assembly and the Security Council in accordance with resolution 58/126 was welcomed. Regrets were expressed, however, that a proposed joint meeting of the General Assembly and the Security Council to observe the Rwanda genocide could not take place, for procedural reasons.

56. Topic 5, "Accountability" was referred to by a number of delegations in the debate on topic 4. They pointed out that by virtue of Article 12 of the Charter, the Security Council had enforcement power on matters concerning international peace and security. There should, however, be obligations attached to those powers. It was also said that by virtue of Article 24 of the Charter, the Security Council was accountable to the General Assembly. It was stressed that decisions of the Security Council were taken on behalf of, not for, the general membership.

**Topic 5**
**Accountability**

57. It was the view of many delegations that this topic was closely linked to the previous one, "Relationship between the General Assembly and the Security Council". The opinion of those delegations was that the reporting obligation of the Security Council and the transparency of its work were the central elements of accountability of the Security Council to the General Assembly. While it was considered difficult to imagine a political mechanism or a legal framework governing the principle of accountability, it was widely held that the legal basis for accountability already existed in the Charter. Particular reference was made to Article 24.1. It was also pointed out that the powers of the Security Council were drawn from Chapters VI, VIII, IX and XII of the Charter and its responsibilities were stipulated in Articles 24 and 23.

58. The view was expressed that according to Article 7 of the Charter, no one United Nations principal organ was accountable to another and that there was no hierarchy among the principal organs. It was noted, in this connection, that the reporting procedures of both the Economic and Social Council and the Security Council as outlined in the Charter were designed to facilitate information sharing and not to enable one organ to judge another.

59. Numerous delegations held the view that increased transparency and improved working methods of the Security Council were crucial to ensure its accountability to the wider membership of the United Nations. A number of delegations welcomed

various improvements in the Council's working methods as ways of promoting transparency and accountability to the wider membership.

60. Delegations cited among improvements in the Council's working methods: improvements in the Council's annual report; increased use of public meetings; monthly meetings between the President of the General Assembly and the President of the Council; the Council President's consultations with regional groups; the quality of consultations between troop-contributing countries, the Council and the Secretariat; regular briefings by the Council Presidency for non-members following the informal consultations; the use of the "Arria-formula meetings"; interactions with civil society; briefings of the media by the Council President; the maintenance of the Presidency web page, including the maintenance on-line of the monthly programme of work; and the efforts of the Working Group itself to promote transparency in the Council. The Security Council was called upon to make greater use of informal mechanisms, such as "groups of friends".

61. Some delegations held the view that an increase in the membership in the Security Council was also a critical component in improving accountability, as this would increase the representivity of the Council. A number of delegations were emphatic in their view that a correction of the imbalances in the Council — with new members in both the permanent and non-permanent categories — would confer on the Security Council the necessary legitimacy and make it more accountable, representative and responsive.

62. Other delegations emphasized that expansion of the Security Council should only involve elected members, as permanent members were immune from accountability for their actions; only through the electoral process could members of the Security Council be held accountable to the general membership. It was proposed to establish a system of periodical review to evaluate both permanent and non-permanent members, in order to increase accountability.

63. In other comments made and suggestions put forward, it was stated that the true test of accountability was measured by how an organization responded to crises and that the Security Council's record in the last 10 years had not been good. It was proposed that the Chairman of the Open-ended Working Group request basic information from the Secretariat on the contribution by Member States to peacekeeping operations and the Trust Funds. It was considered that in the future there should be an obligation among Security Council members to contribute more actively to peacekeeping operations. It was also proposed to look into the question of judicial review of cases of broad disagreements between members of the Security Council and the wider membership on whether a decision was ultra vires, or was in keeping within the mandate of the Security Council.

64. Several delegations argued that the Security Council had assumed a norm or standard-setting role that was not foreseen in the Charter, by engaging in such activities as the establishment of the Counter-Terrorism Committee, ad hoc tribunals and most recently on the non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. This gave particular urgency to the need to consider ways of ensuring accountability of the Council to the wider United Nations membership. Some delegations pointed out that the Council's accountability should also be seen in its capacity to reform itself and to respond to present and future threats to international peace, which was within the scope of its competence.

65. It was suggested that the possibility of "sub-contractorship" might be explored, whereby the Security Council could establish working groups on particular issues that would include non-members. Such working groups could ease the Council's workload and at the same time ensure greater involvement of the wider United Nations membership.

66. Other specific suggestions on strengthening accountability of the Security Council concurred, inter alia, the conduct of Secretariat briefings in public meetings of the Security Council; the submission of special reports by the Security Council; the inclusion of exit strategies in resolutions of the Security Council regarding sanctions, and the regular review of the ways, criteria and terms for each sanctions regime; and the view that wrap-up sessions should not be used to support national agendas.

67. Various delegations expressed the view that the use of the veto by the permanent members decreased the Council's accountability to the wider United Nations membership. Some delegations maintained, further, that new permanent members of the Security Council should not be invested with veto power.

68. A number of delegations commented on the Secretary General's High-Level Panel during the course of discussion of the various topics. They were hopeful that practical suggestions from the Panel could give rise to further reflection and ideas on how to address the system-wide challenge facing the United Nations, and help to keep up the momentum for the reform of the Security Council.

**Topic 6**
**The use of the veto**

69. To assist in the consideration of this topic, the Chairman arranged for a note on the use of the veto by the permanent members of the Security Council to be circulated to members of the Working Group (see annex II.). Delegations expressed appreciation to the Chairman for circulating the note, stressing that the use of the veto was an important and integral part of the discussions on reform of the Security Council.

70. Numerous delegations expressed the view that the veto was anachronistic, discriminatory and undemocratic. They maintained that the actual use and threat of using the veto represented a complete erosion of the principles of transparency and accountability in the working methods and procedures of the Security Council.

71. It was considered by many speakers that the use of the veto created two categories of membership in the Security Council, despite the principle of sovereign equality contained in Article 2.1 of the Charter. The view was expressed that in no other United Nations body was the principle of sovereign equality violated so regularly in such an institutionalized way.

72. Some delegations pointed out that as important — or more important — than the exercise of the veto were the "informal", "silent", "pocket" vetoes or threat of the use of the veto that occurred in informal consultations of the Security Council. As a result, the Security Council failed at times to even consider certain issues. Many delegations expressed the opinion that due to the indiscriminate use of the veto, the Security Council failed to discharge its obligations.

73. Many delegations emphasized that the veto should be used for the benefit of all Member States of the United Nations. However, on many occasions, the veto had been used to protect national interests. Some delegations were of the view that permanent members of the Security Council utilized the veto only on issues they considered to endanger their own perception of threats to world peace.

74. One delegation expressed the view that the veto continued to fulfil a useful function in ensuring decision-making in the Security Council, and that it still had a role to play in maintaining international peace and security. The veto should, however, be used with restraint and in accordance with the Charter. It was also said that the long-term consequences of changing the veto should be considered. Another delegation pointed out that permanent members did not use the veto whenever there was a problem and that abstention by permanent members should be considered in any examination of the use of the veto.

75. Many delegations were of the view that a "voluntary moratorium" or self-restraint with regard to the exercise of veto could not be considered as an option that would enhance the democratization process of the Security Council. The opinion was also expressed that any solution to the veto should be institutional, functional and permanent.

76. Many delegations reflected on how the veto was created. They noted that the veto was meant for Chapter VII issues and that its purpose was to promote collective interests. This objective, however, was considered to have been forgotten. Many delegations called for the abolition of the veto. A number of delegations stated that for the time being it seemed impossible to expect modification of the veto in the Charter. Thus, they suggested the curtailment of the use of the veto preparatory to its complete elimination.

77. A number of proposals were made concerning the use of the veto. They included enhancing the responsibility and accountability of the permanent members of the Security Council regarding the use of the veto; that permanent members should agree to refrain from exercising the veto right except where the issue was of vital importance, and to submit a written explanation when the veto was used; and the establishment of an obligation for the elected members of the Security Council to share information on the formal and informal use of the veto.

78. It was also proposed that the veto should not be abused but should be used with utmost restraint, particularly in authorizing force or implementing sanctions; permanent members should commit to not using the veto when a decision was supported by majority of Security Council members; the use of the veto should be limited to Chapter VII issues only; the veto should not be used on procedural issues; and the veto should not be used on recommendations of the Security Council made according to Articles 4, 5, 6 and 97.

79. It was further proposed that it should be possible to overrule the veto by a two-thirds majority vote in the General Assembly under the "Uniting for peace" formula (General Assembly resolution 377 (V) of 3 November 1950) and under a progressive interpretation of Article 24.1. Some delegations stated that though the General Assembly should be enabled to exercise that power, the threshold for the use of such power should be very high. They believed that the existence of such a power would serve as a useful deterrent against the exercise of the veto. It was also

proposed that the possibility of overruling the veto within the Security Council by an affirmative number of votes in an expanded Security Council should be studied.

80. On the issue of whether to grant the veto to possible new permanent members of the Security Council, some delegations objected to any discrimination between new and old permanent members on the ground that this would create an unwanted third category of members. They stressed that any new permanent members of the Council should have the same privilege as current permanent members.

81. Other delegations stated that extending the right of veto to a larger number of States might lead to a larger number of problems. They did not think that the reform of the Security Council should take place by increasing the permanent membership. Those delegations were of the view that new permanent members would perpetuate the unequal relationship between the General Assembly and the Security Council and that more veto-wielding members would not make the Security Council more democratic, representative or accountable.

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